

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP-RGLONG:LCW

APPROVED BY IO-AMB. BUFFUM

S/P-WGATHRIGHT

NSC-DR. ELLIOTT(SUBS)

EUR-MR. ARMITAGE

L-MR. MATHESON S/S-O:GTWOHIE

ACDA/IR-MR. LINEBAUGH

PM-MR. GOODBY JCS-RM KOTCH

C- MR. BLACKWILL

DOD/ISA-MAJ.GEN.SMITH

----- 065489

Z 220107Z NOV 74 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY SEOUL FLASH

AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 257864

EXDIS, TOSEC 272

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SENV, UN

SUBJECT: US VOTE ON SOVIET ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE RESOLUTION
IN UNGA

FROM BUFFUM FOR SONNENFELDT

WHITE HOUSE PASS SAM 86970 FOR BREMER

1. DRAFT SOVIET RES IS SCHEDULED TO BE VOTED ON IN UN
FIRST COMMITTEE ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22. WHILE WE ARE
ATTEMPTING TO SEEK DEFERRAL OF VOTE, WE ARE NOT SURE OF
OUTCOME. SOVIETS INTRODUCED RES IN FIRST COMMITTEE IN
OCTOBER DISREGARDING OUR REQUEST THAT THEY NOT DO SO
PENDING THE INITIATION OF OUR BILATERAL TALKS ON THE
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SUBJECT AS AGREED AT THE 1974 SUMMIT. WE SUBSEQUENTLY

PROPOSED TO SOVIETS SEVERAL AMENDMENTS TO RES TO BRING IT INTO LINE WITH LANGUAGE USED IN DESCRIBING ENMOD IN US-SOVIET JOINT STATEMENT AND TO ENSURE THAT FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION BY CCD WOULD NOT BE PREJUDGED BY TERMS OF RESOLUTION AND DRAFT CONVENTION. THESE WERE TURNED DOWN WITHOUT ANY INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO BARGAIN OR COMPROMISE.

2. FOLLOWING THIS, SEVERAL CCD MEMBERS AND OTHER CONCERNED COUNTRIES INCLUDING SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, AND CANADA PROPOSED A LIMITED NUMBER OF CHANGES WHICH WOULD, SUBJECT

TO YOUR VIEWS, PROBABLY HAVE ENABLED US TO VOTE FOR THE SOVIET RES. ON NOVEMBER 20 SOVIETS RESPONDED THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT SOME BUT NOT ALL OF CHANGES PROPOSED BY SWEDEN ET AL. THOSE SWEDISH CHANGES ACCEPTED BY SOVIETS, WHILE HELPFUL, WOULD STILL LEAVE IN RES LANGUAGE WHICH PREJUDGES CCD CONSIDERATION IN MANNER WE HAD HOPED TO AVOID.

3. THE PERTINENT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF THE SOVIET RESOLUTION WITH RESERVATIONS ACCEPTED BY THEM NOW READ AS FOLLOWS:

(1) CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO ADOPT, THROUGH THE CONCLUSION OF AN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION, EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PROHIBIT ACTION TO INFLUENCE THE ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE FOR MILITARY AND OTHER HOSTILE PURPOSES WHICH ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, HUMAN WELL-BEING AND HEALTH;

(2) TAKES NOTE OF THE DRAFT INTERNATIONAL "CONVENTION ON THE PROHIBITION OF ACTION TO INFLUENCE THE ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE FOR MILITARY AND OTHER PURPOSES INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, WELL-BEING AND HEALTH" SUBMITTED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, AS WELL AS OTHER POINTS OF VIEW AND SUGGESTIONS PUT FORWARD DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION;

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(3) REQUESTS THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT TO PROCEED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF SUCH A CONVENTION AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT ON THE RESULTS ACHIEVED FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTIETH SESSION;

4. USUN REPORTS THAT SOVIET REVISIONS MEET MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS OF SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, CANADA AND OTHER

MEMBERS OF GROUP THAT PROPOSED CHANGES TO SOVIETS. THAT GROUP THEREFORE, INTENDS TO VOTE FOR RESOLUTION, AS REVISED BY SOVIETS, WHICH LEAVES ONLY FRANCE AND PERHAPS PRC AS COUNTRIES NOW LIKELY TO ABSTAIN OR BE ABSENT ON VOTE; BOTH OBJECT TO CCD'S USE.

5. AMBASSADOR SCALI RECOMMENDS THAT THE US VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE RES AND SET FORTH ALL OF OUR RESERVATIONS IN AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE. EXPLANATION OF VOTE WOULD INCLUDE SPECIFIC STATEMENT THAT WE DO NOT AGREE THAT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION WOULD BE NECESSARY OUTCOME OF

CCD CONSIDERATION. IT WOULD ALSO REJECT SOVIET CONVENTION AS BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. THIS VIEW IS SUPPORTED BY IO, ACDA AND L.

6. ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD ABSTAIN ON THE VOTE WITH AN EXPLANATION OF OUR REASON FOR DOING SO. EXPLANATION OF VOTE WOULD MAKE CLEAR WE WILL PLAY POSITIVE ROLE IN CCD DESPITE ABSTENTION AND DESPITE OUR NEGATIVE VIEW OF SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION. THIS ALTERNATIVE IS SUPPORTED BY NSC STAFF, SONNENFELDT'S STAFF, S/P, EUR, PM, INR AND DOD.

7. A VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE SOVIET RES WITH APPROPRIATE EXPLANATION WOULD CLEARLY REAFFIRM THAT WE SERIOUSLY DESIRE TO SEEK MEANINGFUL AND EFFECTIVE RESTRAINTS ON THE USE OF ENMOD TECHNIQUES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. IT WOULD THUS AVOID HAVING US APPEAR AS A RELUCTANT PARTICIPANT IN DEVELOPING MEASURES IN THIS FIELD. IT WOULD ALSO ALLOW US TO MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY WITH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF CCD COUNTRIES AND IN PARTICULAR THOSE WHO WORK CLOSELY WITH US. ON THE OTHER
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SIDE, A YES VOTE COULD BE VIEWED BY SOVIETS AS REFLECTING WEAKENED RESOLVE ON OUR PART TO INSIST ON OUR POINTS OF VIEW ALREADY EXPRESSED IN BILATERALS. IT MIGHT ALSO GIVE THEM ADDITIONAL DEBATING POINTS IN FUTURE BILATERALS AND CCD.

8. PROS AND CONS OF ABSTENTION ARE AS FOLLOWS. AN ABSTENTION WOULD SIGNAL TO USSR OUR FIRMNESS AND MIGHT THEREBY STRENGTHEN OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION ON THIS ISSUE IN SUBSEQUENT BILATERALS AND CCD. IT WOULD ALSO INDICATE OUR DISPLEASURE AT SOVIET'S OBJECTIONABLE TACTICS. IT WOULD ALSO REFLECT FACT THAT NO DECISION YET REACHED BY US ON QUESTION WHETHER WE WILL AGREE TO CONCLUDE A CONVENTION. LIKEWISE, ABSTENTION, MORE THAN EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON A "YES" VOTE, WILL MORE

STRONGLY UNDERSCORE OUR UNCERTAINTY ABOUT CONVENTION APPROACH. ON THE OTHER HAND, ABSTENTION MIGHT LEAVE US VIRTUALLY ISOLATED IN GA AND MIGHT BE EXPLOITED TO AROUSE SUSPICIONS THAT WE WERE NOT SERIOUS ABOUT THIS MATTER.

9. IN VIEW OF POSSIBLY IMMINENT FIRST COMMITTEE ACTION, REQUEST URGENT GUIDANCE ON US VOTE. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ENVIRONMENT, MEETING VOTING RECORDS, UNGA RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE257864
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RGLONG:LCW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740338-0165
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741119/aaaaapxw.tel
Line Count: 177
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 JUL 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 JUL 2002 by rowelle0>; APPROVED <24 MAR 2003 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US VOTE ON SOVIET ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE RESOLUTION IN UNGA
TAGS: SENV, UR, US, UN
To: SEOUL
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005